بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

من قتل نفسا بغير نفس أو فساد في الأرض فكأنما قتل الناس جميعا

BODY COUNT

A QUANTITATIVE REVIEW OF POLITICAL VIOLENCE ACROSS WORLD CIVILIZATIONS

by

NAVEED S. SHEIKH
University of Louisville

THE ROYAL AAL AL-BAYT INSTITUTE FOR ISLAMIC THOUGHT
2009 • JORDAN

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SECTION I

INTRODUCTION

Background

In his seminal work The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order (1996), the Harvard political scientist Samuel Huntington reinvented Arnold Toynbee's understanding of history as driven not only by impersonal material structures—territory, capital, population, and natural resources—but equally by interpersonal ideational structures. This perception seemed supported by empirical observation, and soon filled the intellectual and political lacunae which had attained particular salience in the wake of the implosion of Soviet-backed communism. Oftentimes, the reinstatement of religion—as the single most stable ideational structure in human history—was referred to as 'the revenge of God', but for social scientists and historians alike it became impossible to scientifically isolate the divine variable from terrestrial imperatives in the muddled socio-political praxes of earthlings. A casual observation, nonetheless, would suggest that discursive constructions about God (in politics, a short-hand for absolute truth) have been a necessary corollary to nearly all conflictual formations, from the substate to the transstate levels. The intensity of this linkage, and its constancy, is tested in this study.

Objectives

The present study attempts to quantify the human death toll of religious and political violence throughout the last two millennia and relating these to religio-cultural civilizations. Adopting a modified version of Huntington's civilizational taxonomy, the study progresses along the following lines: First, a comprehensive data list of over 3,000 violent clashes in history, 0–2008 CE was developed. We then proceeded to identify 276 of the most violent conflicts in history, all with estimated human death tolls over 10,000, and ranked them by death toll. The result was then organized along civilizational lines, in order to attain a comparative understanding of socio-religiously conditioned violence. The findings are represented in four tables, leading to a comparative evaluation of civilizational violence.

Methodology

The study has first produced an aggregate list of major violent conflicts in the last two millennia, incorporating four categories of violence, namely war, civil war, democide, and structural violence. This shows the extent to which violence has been an almost universal form of 'doing politics' in all parts of the inhabited world for as long as history has been recorded. The study then proceeded to quantify the death tolls in the most violent episodes to produce a list of the most violent conflicts in the last two millennia. These conflicts were then organized along civilizational lines,

thereby quantitatively delineating the frequency of major conflict per civilization. Separately, we analyzed genocidal violence (which may have been part of war or democide in the first analysis) to seek to gauge the level of intensity of violence.

DEFINITIONS

Civilizations: The social construct of civilization denotes the historically conditioned and intersubjectively shared norms—cultural, religious and societal—whereby a substantial group of people develop a common cultural in-group identity by means of socialization, pacific interaction and isomorphism. Civilizations are aggregates of local and regional cultures and are bound by shared religious or ethical values.

War: By war is understood large-scale acts of aggression and violence between two different (but equal) political units, such as states. According to Clausewitz's classic, On War, warfare has three dimensions: political objectives, strategy, and popular passion, whereas the equilibrium between the three (by way or the subordination of passion to the strategy and strategy to policy objectives) determines the success or otherwise of any mission. Quantitatively, statisticians insist that the death toll must exceed 1,000 direct deaths (combat related and collateral) in order for

an armed conflict to count as a war. Subcategories include interstate war, continental wars, colonial wars.

Civil War: Civil war are systematized acts of violence perpetuated mutually by members of the same nation. By nation in turn is understood adherence to same ethno-linguist group or, in modern times, members of the same territorial state. Subcatagories include revolutions, rebellions, ethnic strife.

Democide: Democide is meant to convey politically motivated murder by government forces or institutions. It can take collective forms (most notably in the form of genocide or lesser forms of mass-murder) or individual forms (such as the systematic liquidation of opposition figures or political/ethnic threats to the established order). Democide is, moreover, enacted not only in direct action but also in 'Structural Violence'.

Genocide: Genocide is a form of democide, where the aggressor aims to eliminate a substantial portion of an ethnic, linguistic, or religious group from a substantial territory.

Structural Violence: As opposed to direct violence (direct physical harm), structural violence is a concept promoted by Scandinavian Peace Research to denote the violence perpetuated by malign structures—whether they be of

institutional or normative character (for example Apartheid as institution vs. racism as norm). Structural violence is thus the suffering which follows from exploitative or repressive forms of social or political organization.

WORLD CIVILIZATIONS

The social construct of 'civilization' conveys a meaning of common identity. This identity, in turn, is entailed in shared social norms, societal values and cultural mores — all repeated iterated in public discourses and institutions of socialization. Organized religion, thus, emerges as the chief signifier of civilization, both directly (as the repository of identity and values) and indirectly (as shaper of institutions and discourses). While a 'civilization' is not coterminous with a religion, the latter is a necessary (but not sufficient) component of the former. Where religion is relatively homogenous (as in much of the Muslim world), we allow for the conceptualization of a single civilization in the name of Islam (or the umma, the Muslim body politic). Likewise, 'associate' members of the Muslim civilization are found in Africa as well as Europe. The difference between a core member and an associate member of a civilization is the civilizational identity's location on a spectrum from contestedness to hegemony. Likewise, some civilizations (as the Primal-Indigenous) may simply be a residual category, which lacks formal association and membership.

The following seven civilizations are suggested and their respective locales indicated:

CIVILIZATION	LOCALE
Antitheist	Communist block
Buddhist	East Asia, parts of South Asia
Christian	Europe, the Americas, parts of Africa
Indic	India, Nepal, Mauritius
Islamic	Middle East, parts of Asia, parts of Africa
Primal-Indigenous	Parts of Africa, the Americas before colonialism
Sinic	China, some neighbouring states

SECTION II

TABLE 1: A DEATH-TOLL RANKING OF MAJOR VIOLENT CONFLICT (0–2008 CE)

A note on methodology: Estimating the death-toll of conflicts is often fraught with dangers that derive both from the absence of data as well as its (un)reliability. Governments or other political groups often have vested interests in suppressing information or releasing partial or misleading information which either exaggerates or omits death figures. The problem is augmented by the longevity of the present study, as the reliability of information tends to deteriorate over time. We have in each case attempted to corroborate numbers from several sources and guesstimated a reasonable range, supported by scholarly accounts. Although it generally holds true that the older the conflict, the less reliable the data, even recent events sometimes have death toll estimates that differ by a factor of 10 (for example Operation Desert Storm of 1991). Where possible, we have tried to narrow down the range, but on occasions the range has been set wide in order to accommodate diverse opinions and sources. A second-order problem arises from a monocausal allocation of blame for acts of political violence, which often emerge out of complex historical and political antecedents. Here we have not classed all engaged parties as belligerent, but simply those who have initiated hostilities in a particular given event. In particular complex

cases, two or more parties have been deemed to be equally responsible (and the figure is tabulated by dividing by two, three or more as appropriate). If a war is a colonial war, the colonizer or imperial power has by definition been classed as the belligerent power, and likewise in cases of democide, rebellions, revolts, and mutinies, the power-holder has by default been held responsible for any ensuing violence, unless the counter-hegemonic group has engaged in direct action against third parties (e.g. terror tactics).

Event	Estimated Death Toll (>10 million)	Event Type	Belligerent Civilization
World War II (1939-1945)	55,000,000-72,000,000	War, Democide	Christian, Buddhist
People's Republic of China (1949-1975)	44,500,000-77,000,000	Democide	Antitheist
Three Kingdoms Wars (220-280)	40,000,000	War	Sinic
Soviet Reign (1923-1954)	38,000,000-55,000,000	Democide	Antitheist
An Shi Rebellion (755-763)	36,000,000	Civil War	Buddhist
Mongol Conquests (from 1207)	30,000,000-50,000,000	War	Primal-Indigenous
Manchu conquest of Ming China (1616-1662)	25,000,000	War	Sinic
Tai Ping Rebellion (China, 1851-1864)	20,000,000-50,000,000	Civil War	Sinic, Christian
World War I (1914-1918)	15,000,000-66,000,000	War	Christian
Second Sino-Japanese War (1931-1945)	15,000,000-22,000,00	War	Buddhist
Extermination of Native Americans (C16th-19th)	13,000,000-16,000,000	Structural	Christian
Nationalist China (1928-49)	10,075,000	Civil War	Sinic
Conquests of Timur the Lame (1360-1405)	7,000,000-20,000,000	War	Islamic
Event	**Estimated Death Toll (>2 million)**	**Event Type**	**Belligerent Civilization**
Russian Civil War (1917-1922)	5,000,000-9,000,000	Civil War	Christian, Antitheist
Conquests of Menelik II Ethiopia (1882- 1898)	5,000,000	War	Christian

Congo Free State colonial war (1885-1908)	4,500,000-12,000,000	War	Christian
Dungan Revolt (1862-1877)	4,000,000	Civil War	Sinic
Second Congo War (1998-2007)	3,800,000-5,400,000	War	Christian
Napoleonic Wars (1804-1815)	3,500,000-6,000,000	War	Christian
China Mao Soviets (1923-1949)	3,500,000	Democide	Antitheist
Thirty Years' War (1618-1648)	3,000,000-8,000,000	War	Christian
Yellow Turban Rebellion (China, 184-205)	3,000,000-7,000,000	Civil War	Sinic
Korean War (1950-1953)	2,500,000-5,040,000	War	Christian, Antitheist
Transatlantic Slave Trade (17th to 19th centuries)	2,400,000-4,300,000	Structural Violence	Christian
Vietnam War (1945-1975)	2,300,000-5,100,000	War	Christian, Antitheist
French Wars of Religion (1562-1598)	2,000,000-4,000,000	Civil War	Christian
Mahmud of Ghazni's invasions, India (1000-1027)	2,000,000	War	Islamic
Event	**Estimated Death Toll (>1 million)**	**Event Type**	**Belligerent Civilization**
Post-War Expulsion of Germans (1945-47)	2,100,000-3,000,000	Democide	Christian
Young Turk Atrocities (1909-18)	1,800,000-2,000,000	Democide	Islamic
Cambodia, Khmer Rouge (1975-79)	1,700,000-2,035,000	Democide	Antitheist
North Korea (1948-1987)	1,500,000-1,600,000	Democide	Antitheist
Afghan Civil War (1979-ongoing)	1,500,000-2,000,000	Civil War	Islamic
Arab Slave Trade (7th to 19th centuries)	1,400,000-2,000,000	Structural Violence	Islamic
Chinese Civil War (1928-1949)	1,300,000-6,200,000	Civil War	Sinic
Mexican Revolution (1910-1920)	1,000,000-2,000,000	Civil War	Christian
Shaka's conquests (1816-1828)	1,000,000-2,000,000	Civil War	Primal-Indigenous
Soviet Afghan intervention (1979-1989)	1,000,000-1,500,000	War	Antitheist
Nigerian Civil War (1967-1970), Biafran	1,000,000-1,200,000	Civil War	Islamic, Christian
Iran-Iraq War (1980-1988)	1,000,000	War	Islamic
Japanese invasions of Korea (1592-1598)	1,000,000	War	Buddhist
Second Sudanese Civil War (1983-2005)	1,000,000	Civil War	Islamic, Christian
Crusades (1095-1272)	1,000,000	War	Christian
Aztec Atrocities	1,000,000+	Structural Violence	Primal-Indigenous
Panthay Rebellion (1856-1873)	1,000,000	Civil War	Sinic

Event	Estimated Death Toll (>500,000)	Event Type	Belligerent Civilization
Mozambique Civil War (1976-1993)	900,000-1,000,000	Civil War	Christian, Islamic, PI
Turkey under Ataturk (1919-23)	878,000	Democide	Antitheist
Seven Years' War (1756-1763)	868,000 - 1,400,000	War	Christian
Rwandan Civil War (1990-1994)	800,000 - 1,000,000	Civil War	Christian
Congo Civil War (1991-1997)	800,000	Civil War	Christian
Great Irish Famine (1845-52)	750,000-1,500,000	Structural Violence	Christian
Indonesia political/ethnic strife (1965-87)	729,000-1,000,000	Democide, Civil War	Islamic
Iraq War (2003-Present)	614,000 - 1,100,000	War	Christian
Russian-Circassian War (1763-1864)	600,000-1,500,000	War	Christian
First Jewish-Roman War (66-73)	600,000 - 1,300,000	War	Primal-Indigenous
Qing-Dzungar War (1755-57)	600,000-800,000	War	Sinic, Buddhist
Second Jewish-Roman War (Bar Kokhba 132-135)	580,000	War	Primal-Indigenous
Eritrean War of Independence (1961-1991)	570,000	War	Christian, Islamic
Algerian War of Independence (1954-1962)	550,000-1,000,000	War	Christian
Somali Civil War (1988 -)	550,000	Civil War	Islamic
Thuggee Cult Murders (17th to 19th centuries)	500,000-2,000,000	Ritual Murder	Indic
Suttee (4th to 19th centuries)	500,000-800,000	Structural Violence	Indic
Partition of India (1947)	500,000-1,000,000	Civil War	Islamic, Indic
Angolan Civil War (1975-2002)	500,000-550,000	Civil War	Christian, Primal
First Sudanese Civil War (1955-1972)	500,000	Civil War	Islamic, Christian
Event	**Estimated Death Toll (>250,000)**	**Event Type**	**Belligerent Civilization**
War of the Triple Alliance, Paraguay (1864-1870)	350,000-610,000	War	Christian
Miao, Nien and Muslim Rebellions (1850-77)	450,000	Civil War	Sinic
Darfur conflict (2003-ongoing)	400,000	Civil war, Democide	Islamic
War of the Spanish Succession (1701-1714)	400,000-700,000	Civil War	Christian
Second Burundi Civil War (1993)	400,000	Civil War	Christian
Continuation War (1941-1944)	371,000	War	Christian

French Revolutionary Wars (1792-1802)	350,000-663,000	War	Christian
Spanish Civil War (1936-1939)	350,000-500,000	Civil War	Christian
Great Northern War (1700-1721)	350,000-400,000	War	Christian
Portuguese Colonialism (1900-25)	325,000	War	Christian
American Civil War (1861-1865)	365,000-618,000	Civil War	Christian
Wars of the Three Kingdoms (1639-1651)	315,000 - 735,000	War	Christian
Caucasian War (from 1817)	300,000-1,500,000	War	Christian, Islamic
Ugandan Civil War (1979-1986)	300,000-500,000	Civil War	Christian
French Conquest of Algeria (1839-47)	300,000	War	Christian
Mexican Yucatan Maya Campaign (1847-55)	300,000	Civil War	Christian
Idi Amin's Regime (1972-79)	300,000	Democide	Islamic
Abyssinian War (1935-41)	275-000-400,000	War	Christian
French Revolution (1793-1794)	263,000-600,000	Civil War	Christian
Philippine-American War (1898-1913)	255,000-1,120,000	War	Christian
Ethiopian Civil Wars (1962-1991)	230,000-1,400,000	Civil War	Christian
Albigensian Crusade (1208-1244)	250,000-1,000,000	War	Christian
Indian extermination, Brazil (1900 et seq.)	250,000-500,000	War, Democide	Christian
Iraq under Saddam Hussein (1979-2003)	250,000-1,300,000	Democide	Antitheist
Cuban Revolution (1895-98)	250,000-300,000	War	Christian
Event	**Estimated Death Toll (>100,000)**	**Event Type**	**Belligerent Civilization**
Liberian Civil War (1989-1997)	220,000	Civil War	PI, Christian
Russo-Turkish War (1877-78)	215,000-285,000	War	Christian, Islamic
Bangladesh Liberation War (1971)	200,000-2,800,000	War, Democide	Islamic
Warlord era in China (1917-1928)	200,000-800,000	War	Sinic
Yugoslavia under Tito (1944-87)	200,000-572,000	Democide	Antitheist
East Timor (1975-99)	200,000-250,000	Democide, Civil War	Islamic
First Congo War (1996-97)	200,000	Civil War	Christian
Franco-Prussian War (1870-1871)	185,000-204,000	War	Christian
Sierra Leone Civil War (1991-2002)	180,000-200,000	Civil War	Christian
La Violencia (1948-1958)	180,000 - 300,000	Civil War	Christian
Maji-Maji Revolt, German East Afr (1905-07)	175,000-250,000	War	Christian

Mexican War of Independence (1810-21)	150,000-400,000	War	Christian
Communist Vietnam (1975 et seq)	165,000-460,000	Democide	Antitheist
Haitian Revolution (1791-1804)	160,000-350,000	War	Christian
Algerian Civil War (1991 et seq)	160,000-200,000	Civil War	Islamic
Mindanao Conflict (1969-ongoing)	160,000+	Civil War	Islamic, Christian
Lebanese Civil War (1975-1990)	150,000-162,000	Civil War	Islamic, Christian
Second Liberian Civil War (1999-2003)	150,000	Civil War	Primal, Christian
Russo-Japanese War (1904-1905)	130,000-150,000	War	Buddhist
Russo-Turkish War (1828-29)	130,000-191,000	War	Christian, Islamic
Winter War (1939-1940)	148,000-1,000,000	War	Christian
Ten Years' War Cuba (1868-78)	200,000	War	Christian
Balkan Wars (1912-13)	140,000-225,000	War	Christian, Islamic
Guatemaltec Civil War (1960-1996)	140,000-200,000	Civil War	Christian
Portuguese Colonial Wars	140,000	War	Christian
Eritrean-Ethiopian War (1998-2000)	125,000-190,000	War	Christian, Islamic
Great Turkish War (1683-1699)	120,000 - 384,000	War	Islamic, Christian
War of the Austrian Succession (1740-48)	120,000-359,000	War	Christian
Sichuan Revolt of the Peasants (1755-57)	120,000	Civil War	Sinic
Bosnian War (1992-1995)	120,000	War, Civil War	Christian
Chaco War (1932-1935)	100,500	War	Christian
North Yemen Civil War (1962-1970)	100,000- 150,000	Civil War	Islamic
War of the Two Brothers, Inca (1531-1532)	100,000 -1,000,000	Civil War	Primal-Indigenous
Christian New Guinea (1984-)	100,000 - 400,000	Democide	Islamic
Indonesian invasion of East Timor (1975-1978)	100,000 - 200,000	Democide	Islamic
al-Anfal Campaign (1986-89)	100,000- 180,000	Democide	Islamic
Franco's regime (1939-75)	100,000-160,000	Democide, Civil War	Christian
Libya-Italian Wars (1911-1931)	100,000-125,000	War	Christian
Persian Gulf War (1991)	100,000	War	Christian, Islamic
Thousand Days War (1899-1901)	100,000-150,000	Civil War	Christian
Peasants' War (1524-1525)	100,000	Civil War	Christian
Mad Mullah Jihad, Somalia (1899-1920)	100,000	War	Islamic, Christian
Battle of Las Navas de Tolosa (1212)	100,000	War	Christian
Imperial Russia (1900-1917)	100,000	Democide	Christian
Russo-Polish War (1918-1920)	100,000	War	Christian

Tyrone's Rebellion/Nine Year's War (1594-1603)	100,000-130,000	War	Christian
White Lotus Rebellion (1796-1805)	100,000	Civil War	Sinic
Crimean War (1854-1856)	105,000-277,000	War	Christian, Islamic
Event	**Est.Death Toll (>50,000)**	**Event Type**	**Belligerent Civilization**
Second Chechen War (1999 et seq.)	80,000-210,000	War	Christian, Islamic
Battle of Alarcos (1195)	80,000-150,000	War	Christian
Equatorial Guinea (1968-1979)	80,000	War	Primal Indigenous
Siege of Isfahan (1722)	80,000	War	Islamic
Greek War of Independence (1821-1829)	75,000-120,000	War	Islamic
Indonesian National Revolution	75,000 - 205,000	War, Civil War	Christian, Islamic
El Salvador Civil War (1980-1992)	75,000	Civil War	Christian
Second Boer War (1898-1902)	75,000	War	Christian
Greco-Turkish War (1919-1922)	75,000-250,000	War	Christian, Islamic
Boxer Rebellion (1899-1901)	70,000-115,000	War	Christian, Sinic
Boudica's uprising (60-61)	70,000	War	Primal-Indigenous
Aceh War (1873-1914)	70,000	War	Christian
Russo-Austro-Turkish War (1787-1791)	64,000-192,000	War	Islamic
Mozambican War of Independence (1964-1974)	63,500	War	Christian
Mau Mau Uprising (1952-1960)	61,185	War	Christian
First Chechen War (1994-1996)	60,000 - 200,000	War	Christian
Romania (1948-89)	60,000-150,000	Democide	Antitheist
Sri Lanka/Tamil conflict (1983-)	60,000-65,000	Civil War	Indic, Buddhist
Tupac Amaru Rebellion (1780-83)	60,000-80,000	War	Christian
Nicaraguan Rebellion (1972-91)	60,000	Civil War	Christian
Battle of Yarmouk (636)	55,000-70,000	War	Islamic
Egyptian-Ottoman War (1805-11)	56,000	War	Islamic
Angolan War of Independence	52,000-80,000	War	Christian
First Burundi Civil War (1972)	50,000-300,000	Civil War	Christian
Tajik Civil War (1992-1997)	50,000 - 60,000	Civil War	Islamic
Wars of the Roses (1455-1485)	50,000	Civil War	Christian
Opium Wars (1839-1850)	50,000	War	Christian

Siege of Tabriz (1725)	50,000	War	Islamic
Byzantine-Rashidun War (634)	50,000	War	Islamic
Event	**Estimated Death Toll (>20,000)**	**Event Type**	**Belligerent Civilization**
Greek Civil War (1945-1949)	45,000-160,000	Civil War	Christian
Russo-Turkish War (1806-12)	45,000-170,000	War	Islamic
Kashmiri insurgency (1989-)	41,000-100,000	Civil War	Indic, Islamic
Herero Genocide (1904-07)	45,000-60,000	Democide	Christian
Witch Hunts (15th-17th centuries)	40,000-60,000	Democide	Christian
Maratha-Afghan War (1760-1761)	40,000	War	Islamic
Bulgarian Uprising (1875-77)	40,000	War	Islamic
Second Riffian War (1921-26)	40,000-100,000	War	Christian
Nader Shah's Invasion of India (1738)	40,400-70,000	War	Islamic
Battle of Siffin (657)	40,000-65,000	Civil War	Islamic
Chad under Habre regime (1982-1990)	40,000	Democide	Primal-Indigenous
South Vietnam under Diem (1955-63)	39,000	Democide	Buddhist
Russo-Austro-Turkish War (1736-39)	38,000	War	Islamic, Christian
Grand Columbia Wars of Independence (1810-21)	37,000-120,000	War	Christian
Finnish Civil War (1918)	36,000	Civil War	Christian
Mongolia under Communists (1936 et seq)	35,000	Democide	Christian, Buddhist
Java War (1825-30)	35,000-180,000	War	Christian
Siege of Malta (1565)	35,000 - 45,000	War	Islamic
Sandinista Rebellion (1972-1979)	35,000-40,000	Civil War	Christian
Peru's Shining Path insurrections (1980 et seq)	45,000-69,000	Civil War	Antitheist
Battle of Nihawand (642)	43,000-65,000	War	Islamic
Ukrainian Pogroms (1919-21)	30,000-70,000	Democide	Christian
First Carlist War, Spain (1832-1840)	33,000-125,000	Civil War	Christian
Vietnamese Persecution of Christians (1832-1887)	33,000-41,000	Democide	Buddhist
Rashidun-Sassanid War (633)	32,000-40,000	War	Islamic
Contra Rebellion (1981-90)	30,000-57,000	Civil War	Christian
Irish Uprising (1798)	30,000-40,000	Civil War	Christian
U.S. Invasion of Afghanistan (2001 - 2002)	30,000 - 50,000	War	Christian, Islamic

Mozambique Anti-Colonial War (1961-1975)	30,000-60,000	War	Christian
Bulgaria under Communism (1948-1953)	30,000-50,000	Democide	Antitheist
Hamidian Massacre of Armenians (1895-96)	30,000-200,000	Democide	Islamic
Canudos War (1896-97)	30,000	Democide	Christian
Turko-Syrian Wars (1831-32, 1839-40)	30,000	War	Islamic
Poland under Communism(1948 et seq)	30,000	Democide	Antitheist
Argentina under Military (1976-83)	30,000	Democide	Christian
Turkey/PKK conflict (1984-)	30,000	Civil War, Democide	Islamic
Sino-Vietnamese War (1979)	30,000	War	Sinic, Antitheist
Rhodesian Bush War (1964-1979)	30,000	War	Christian
El Salvador Peasant Revolt (1931-32)	30,000	Civil War	Christian
Seven Weeks' War (1866)	27,900-79,000	War	Christian
Bulavin's Rebellion (1707-09)	28,000	Civil War	Christian
Zulu Conflict (1856)	27,000	Civil War	Primal-Indigenous
Venetian-Austro-Turkish War (1714-18)	27,000-45,000	War	Islamic
American War of Independence (1775-83)	25,300-37,300	War	Christian
Indo-Pakistani War of 1971 (December 1971)	23,384	War	Islamic, Indic
Nagorno-Karabakh War (1988-1994)	23,000	War	Christian, Islamic
Australian Frontier Wars (1788-1921)	23,000	War	Christian
Venezuelan Federal War (1859-63)	20,000-50,000	Civil War	Christian
Franco-Mexican War (1862-67)	20,000-50,000	War	Christian
Pugachov Revolt (1773-74)	20,000	Civil War	Christian
Six-Day War (1967)	22,000	War	Christian
War of the Quadruple Alliance (1718-20)	20,000-25,000	War	Christian
Italo-Turkish War (1911-12)	20,000	War	Christian, Islamic
Siege of Erevan (1723)	20,000	War	Islamic
Burmese-Chinese War (1765-1769)	20,000	War	Buddhist
Portuguese Civil War (1829-34)	20,000	Civil War	Christian
British-Afghan War (1838-42)	20,000-30,000	War	Islamic
Persian massacres of Bahais (1848-54)	20,000	Democide	Islamic

Event	Estimated Death Toll (>10,000)	Event Type	Belligerent Civilization
Righteous Army Uprising, Korea (1907-12)	18,000	War	Buddhist
Transvaal Revolt (1880-81)	18,000	War	Christian
Paris Commune (1871)	17,000-23,000	Democide	Christian
Sikh Uprising (1982-91)	16,000-20,000	Civil War	Indic
Iran under the Pahlevis (1953-1979)	16,000	Democide	Islamic
Anglo-Burmese War (1823-1826)	15,000-20,000	War	Christian
War of Italian Unification (1859)	15,000-22,500	Civil War	Christian
Polish Insurrection (1830-32)	15,000-21,000	War	Christian
Guinea-Bissau War of Independence (1963-1974)	15,000	War	Christian
Sino-Japanese War (1894-95)	15,000	War	Buddhist, Sinic
Christian-Druze Wars, Lebanon (1860)	15,000	Civil War	Christian, Unclassified
War of the Pacific (1879-1884)	14,000 - 55,000	War	Christian
Hungarian Insurrection (1703-1711)	14,000-43,000	War	Christian
Battle of Walaya (633)	14,000-22,000	War	Islamic
South Africa under Apartheid	14,000-19,000	Democide	Christian
Russo-Turkish War (1768-1774)	14,000-20,000	War	Christian, Islamic
Mexican-American War (1846-48)	13,000-49,000	War	Christian
Namibia Civil War	13,000-20,000	Civil War	Christian
South Yemen Civil War (1986)	13,000	Civil War	Islamic
Bouganville Revolt, Papua New Guinea (1989-98)	13,000	Civil War	Christian
Czechoslovakia under Communism	13,000-60,000	Democide	Antitheist
Nepal Civil War (1996-2006)	12,700	Civil War	Indic
Sino-French War (1884-85)	12,000	War	Christian
Battle of Poitiers (732)	12,000	War	Islamic
Ottoman Invasion of Persia (1727)	12,000	War	Islamic
Batavia Massacres (1740)	10,000-12,000	Civil War	Christian
Israeli War of Independence	12,000-19,000	War	Unclassified, Islamic
Yom Kippur War (1973)	11,500-16,000	War	Islamic, Christian
Malayan Emergency (1948-1960)	11,053	War	Christian, Islamic
Madagascar Revolt (1947)	11,000-60,000	Civil War	Christian

Battle of Sekigahara (1600)	11,000-32,000	Civil War	Buddhist
Croatian War of Independence (1991-1995)	11,000-16,000	War	Christian
Hama Massacre (1982)	10,000-25,000	Democide	Islamic
Anglo-American War (1812-1815)	11,000-20,000	War	Christian
Kanto Massacres, Japan (1923)	10,000-20,000	Democide	Buddhist
Haitian Massacres, Dominican Republic (1937)	10,000-20,000	Democide, Civil War	Christian
Congo-Brazzaville Coup and Civil War (1997-99)	10,000-20,000	Civil War	Christian
Massacres of the Janisaries (1826)	10,000-20,000	Democide	Islamic
Spanish-Moroccan War (1907-11)	10,000-15,000	War	Christian
Western Sahara (1975 et seq)	10,000-16,000	War, Democide	Islamic
Cameroon Insurrection	10,000-15,000	War	Christian
Seapoy Mutiny (1857)	10,000-15,000	Civil War	Christian
Somali War (2006-)	10,000+	Civil War	Islamic
Argentine Civil War (1845-51)	10,000	Civil War	Christian
Amadu's Jihad (1810-1818)	10,000	Civil War	Islamic
Mexico (1926-30)	10,000	Civil War	Christian
Russo-Swedish War (1741-43)	10,000	War	Christian
Tay Son Revolution, Annam(1772-1802)	10,000	Civil War	Sinic
Anglo-Sikh Wars (1846-48)	10,000	War	Christian
Spanish-American War (1898)	10,000	War	Christian
Indo-Pakistani War of 1965	8,000-15,000	War	Islamic, Indic

KEY FINDINGS AND ANALYSIS

TABLE 2: 0–2008 CE

Civilization	Minimum Death Toll	Maximum Death Toll	Median Death Toll
Antitheist	96,786,000	153,789,000	125,287,500
Buddhist	80,116,000	95,777,500	87,946,750
Christian	119,323,000	236,560,500	177,941,750
Indic	1,344,500	3,434,000	2,389,250
Islamic	21,964,000	41,923,000	31,943,500
Primal-Indigenous	34,232,000	56,890,000	45,561,000
Sinic	95,612,500	120,235,000	107,923,750
Total	**449,378,000**	**708,609,000**	**578,993,500**

Interpreting the results: Our findings show that, using the entire data set for the period 0-2008, politically and religiously motivated violence has cost between 449.38 million and 708.61 million lives. The **Christian** civilization's share of this is the largest with between 119.32 million and 236.56 million victims (median 177.94 million). In second place is the **Antitheist** civilization which has contributed with a median figure of 125.29 million deaths. The **Sinic** civilization is third with 107.92 million deaths (median). Fourth is the **Buddhist** civilization with ca. 87.95 million deaths. Fifth is the **Primal-Indigenous** civilization with 45.56 million deaths. Sixth is the **Islamic** civilization with 31.94 million deaths. Finally, seventh and last, is the **Indic** civilization with just under 2.39 million deaths.

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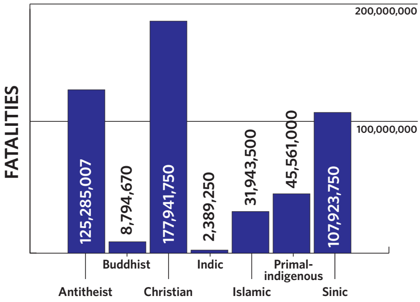


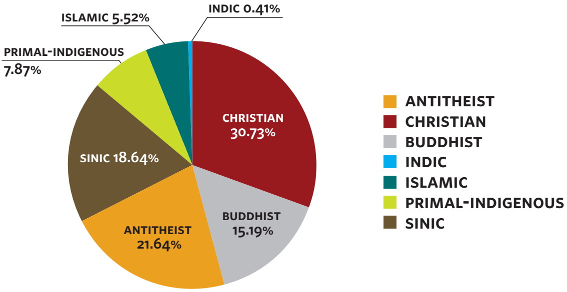
TABLE 3 : DETAILED RESULTS

	No of Events	Rank	Median Death Toll	Rank
Antitheist	19 (5.92%)	3	125,287,500	(21.64%) 2
Buddhist	15 (4.67%)	5	87,946,750	(15.19%) 4
Christian	166 (51.71%)	1	177,941,750	(30.73%) 1
Indic	9 (2.80%)	7	2,389,250	(0.41%) 7
Islamic	81 (25.23%)	2	31,943,500	(5.52%) 6
Primal-Indigenous	14 (4.36%)	6	45,561,000	(7.87%) 5
Sinic	17 (5.30%)	4	107,923,750	(18.64%) 3
Total	**321 (100%)**		**578,993,500**	**(100%)**

Interpreting Table 3: The above table shows two sets of ranking, one based on frequency (the number of incidents in which a given civilization has been involved in violent

episodes) and one based on intensity (the number of killed in those episodes). In terms of frequency of bellicosity, the most prolific civilizations are: (1) Christian, (2) Islamic, (3) Antitheist, and (4) Sinic. The Christian civilization accounts for over 50% of all incidents, whereas the Muslim accounts for over 25%, the Antitheist and Sinic civilizations are down to nearly a fifth of the latter at just over 5%. In terms of intensity, calculated on the basis of death toll, however, the ranking is very different. Here the ranking is as follows: (1) Christian, (2) Antitheist, (3) Sinic, and (4) Buddhist. In terms of death-toll, the Christian civilization accounts for over 30% of all killed, the Antitheist for over 21%, the Sinic for nearly 19%, and the Buddhist for approximately 15%. The Primal-Indigenous category is nearly half of that and the Islamic is down at under 6%. The findings are illustrated below:

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SECTION III

TABLE 4: CIVILIZATIONS AND GENOCIDE IN HISTORY(BY DEATH TOLL)

Date	Event	Perpetrators	Victims	Median Death toll	Civilization
1835	Moriori Genocide	Maoris	Morioris	1,500	Primal-Indigenous
1995	Srebrenica Massacre	Serbs	Bosniaks	8,000	Christian
1854-64	Yuki Genocide	Californian settlers	Yuki Indians	10,000	Christian
1904-07	Herero and Namaqua Genocide	Germany	Herero and Namaqua	45,000	Christian
1919-21	Ukrainian Pogroms	Ukraine nationalists	Jews	50,000	Christian
1963	West Papuan genocide	Indonesia	Papuans	100,000	Islamic
1894-96	Hamidian Massacres	Ottoman Turkey	Armenians	115,000	Islamic
1986-1988	Anfal Campaign	Baathist Iraq	Kurds	140,000	Islamic
1972	Burundi Genocide	Tutsi	Hutu	175,000	Christian
1975-99	East Timor Genocide	Indonesia	East Timorese	200,000	Islamic
1937-38	Rape of Nanking	Imperial Japan	Chinese	300,000	Buddhist
1914-23	Pontic Greek Genocide	Young Turks	Greek Minorities	380,000	Islamic
1864-67	Circassian Genocide	Czarist Russia	Circassians	400,000	Christian
1919-20	Don Cossack Genocide	Soviet Russia	Don Cossack	400,000	Antitheist
1993	Burundi Genocide	Hutu	Tutsi	400,000	Christian
2003-08	Darfur Conflict	Janjaweed, Sudan	Darfur tribes	400,000	Islamic
1941-45	Serb Genocide	Ustasha	Serbs, Jews, homosexuals	465,000	Christian
1899-1902	American-Philippine War	U.S.A.	Filipinos	600,000	Christian
1208-44	Albigensian Crusade	Roman Church	Cathars	625,000	Christian
1914-20	Seyfo (Assyrian Genocide)	Young Turks	Syriac-Chaldeans	625,000	Islamic

1915-23	Armenian Genocide	Young Turks	Armenians	900,000	Islamic
1994	Rwandan Genocide	Hutu	Tutsi	900,000	Christian
1856-1873	Panthay Rebellion	Qing Dynasty	Hui Muslims	1,000,000	Sinic
1971	Bengali Genocide	West Pakistan	Bengalis, Hindus	1,100,000	Islamic
1975-79	Cambodian Genocide	Khmer Rouge	Cambodian Populus	1,850,000	Antitheist
1862-1877	Dungan Revolt	Qing Dynasty	Hui Muslims	4,000 000	Sinic
1493-96	Hispaniola Genocide	Columbus	Arawaks	5,000,000	Christian
1933	Holodomor Famine	Soviet Russia	Ukrainian/ Kazakh	6,000,000	Antitheist
1880-1910	Congo Free State	Belgium	Congolese	8,250,000	Christian
1940-45	Nazi Genocides	Nazi Germany	Jews, Slavs, Roma, homo-sexuals	16,315,000	Christian

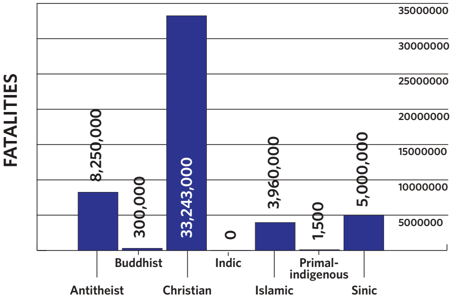
KEY FINDINGS AND ANALYSIS
TABLE 5: DETAILED RESULTS

	No of Events	Rank	Median Death Toll	Rank
Antitheist	3 (10.00%)	3	8,250,000 (16.25%)	2
Buddhist	1 (3.33%)	5/6	300,000 (0.59%)	5
Christian	14 (46.67%)	1	33,243,000 (65.50%)	1
Indic	0 (0%)	7	0 (0%)	7
Islamic	9 (30%)	2	3,960,000 (7.80%)	4
Primal-Indigenous	1 (3.33%)	5/6	1,500 (0.00%)	6
Sinic	2 (6.67%)	4	5,000,000 (9.85%)	3
Total	**30 (100%)**		**50,754,500 (100%)**	

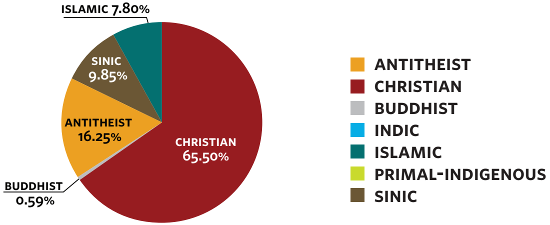
Interpreting Table 5: Genocides are particular instances of political violence, driven by hateful aggression and strategies of willful elimination. Our list of 30 genocides in world

history, with a total death toll of 50.75 million, displays some remarkable facts: The Christian civilization has been the most genocidal civilization, accounting for 14 instances of genocides with over 33 million deaths. As the total deaths derived from genocides are just over 50 million, the Christian share is nearly 2/3 of all genocide deaths. Although the Islamic civilization is second in numbers of genocidal acts, the Antitheist group as well as the Sinic civilization has higher death-tolls at respectively 8.25 million and 5.00 million, whereas the Islamic civilization's genocide death toll is under 4 million. The Antitheist and Sinic civilizations rank, respectively 3 and 4 in terms of acts of genocide, whereas the Buddhist and Primal-Indigenous Civilizations share the fifth place with a single instance of genocide in each civilization (although the Buddhist cost 300,000 lives, whereas the death toll in the Primal-Indigenous category was the lowest in the genocide category with 1,500 deaths). The Indic civilization is not known to have perpetrated any genocide after year 0.

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GENOCIDE DEATH-TOLL DISTRIBUTION | WORLD CIVILIZATIONS 0-2008CE



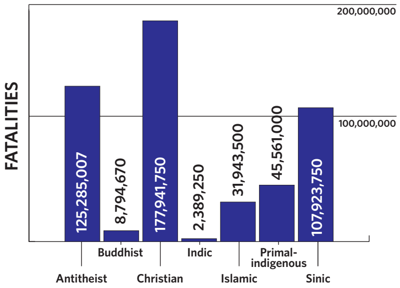
CONCLUSIONS

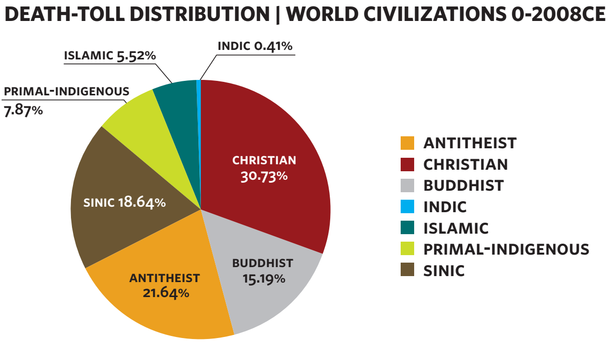
The present study has, on the basis of empirical examination of political violence in the last two millennia, made some startling findings.

1. We have found that the total death toll from acts of political violence (war, civil war, democide, and structural violence) has been between 449.38 million and 708.61 million in the years 0-2008. The median figure of nearly 579.00 million amounts to twice the U.S. population in the year 2000.

2. The distribution of the median death-toll is illustrated below, expressed first in absolute figures and next in percentage of the total.

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3. Of these 579.00 million fatalities, 50.75 million are genocidal deaths. Their distribution, in turn, is represented below:

4. In comparative terms, we have found the open secret of world history to be that the Christian civilization is the most bellicose on all counts: It is the civilization which is responsible for the highest number of death in world history, between 119.32and 236.56 million (median: 177.94 million). This is over 30% of global fatalities for the period 0-2008 CE. In terms of number of instances of political violence, the Christian share is even higher, accounting for 166 events out of 321 in total (nearly 52%). Thus more than half of all major acts of political violence

can be attributed to the Christian civilization. Finally, in terms of genocides too the Christian civilization has perpetrated nearly half of all genocides (14 out of 30, or 46.67%). Still, these 14 genocides have had a total death toll of 33.24 million, a whopping 65.50% of all genocide deaths. The Christian civilization, therefore, emerges as the most violent and genocidal in world history.

5. Christian apologetics often charge anti-religious ideologies with perpetrating more violence than religious civilizations. Taking a broad view of history, rather than a perspective constrained to the Cold War period, our study does not confirm this hypothesis. Instead, the Antitheist civilization is second in terms of death toll contributions, ranging from 96.79 million to 153.79 million (a mean of 125.29 million, amounting to 21.64% of the total death toll across civilizations over the time period 0-2008 CE). As these deaths are spread over a mere 18 events, it is true that the average death-toll per event is higher than in any other civilizational category. In terms of genocidal events, the Antitheist category is overall second as well, having produced 8.25 million deaths, again over relatively few events: namely three.

6. The Sinic civilization is the third most violent civilization, both in terms of overall death-toll (at 107.92 million, or 18.64% of total deaths) and in terms of genocidal deaths (at 5.00 million or 9.85% of total genocide deaths).

With the Communist Revolution in China, the Sinic civilization largely merged into the Antitheist civilization, just as Communist Eastern Europe was part of the Antitheist civilizational category until it re-joined the Christian civilization after the Cold War. Had this not been the case, the Sinic civilization could have surpassed the Christian as the most belligerent civilization.

7. It is safe to say that the Islamic civilization has, before and after 9/11, been on the receiving end of media charges of violence and bigotry. This may be due to the large number of events in which the Muslim world has been involved: 81 acts of political violence, including 9 of genocidal character (in both instances ranking second in terms of number of events). However, in terms of death-toll the Muslim world's share of death toll is ranked at the bottom, with only the Indic civilization as more pacific. The Islamic death toll of 31.94 million (mean figure) amounts to 5.52% of the total world death-toll, and is thus around a sixth of the Christian civilization's share and around a quarter of the Antitheist contribution. In the genocide category, however, the Islamic death toll is somewhat higher at 7.80%.

8. Contrary to the Islamic civilization, the Buddhist civilization has enjoined an exceptional good press in the West. Yet, the Buddhist contribution to the world death-toll is almost three times the Islamic, at 87.95

million (or 15.19% of the total death toll). It should be noted that many instances of violence from the Buddhist civilization derive from Japanese actions, including the sole engagement of genocidal violence with the death toll of 300,000.

9. Finally, the Indic civilization is the most pacific civilization with no instance of genocidal violence (despite the Bombay and Gujurat Riots in recent years). It is at the bottom of all tables, with only 7 instances of large-scale political violence, out of 321, and less than half a percentage of the total death toll (although that remains a sizeable 2.39 million).

SECTION IV

TABLE 1: THE GROWTH OF RELIGIOUS CIVILIZATIONS (IN MILLION)

Year	World Population	Sinic	Christian	Primal	Indic	Islamic	Buddhist	Antitheist
1	213 million	53	0	87	24	0	19	__
200	223 million	59	3	89	29	0	24	__
400	198 million	55	16	69	26	0	28	__
600	203 million	45	21	64	32	0	34	__
800	222 million	50	26	47	43	11	39	__
1000	276 million	66	35	44	52	23	43	__
1100	311 million	98	40	42	66	32	45	__
1200	380 million	115	53	40	73	44	46	__
1300	396 million	86	76	37	77	52	44	__
1400	362 million	81	60	34	82	56	40	__
1500	443 million	108	81	40	93	71	42	__
1600	562 million	146	106	41	104	98	48	__
1700	645 million	160	131	46	122	114	57	4
1800	927 million	292	219	54	132	162	73	18
1850	1,221 million	384	332	65	158	215	96	32
1900	1,645 million	435	552	71	193	282	107	50
1950	2,514 million	405	887	62	410	478	167	100
1975	4,068 million	390	1,333	59	637	852	228	555
2000	6,000 million	661	1,972	76	816	1,290	390	600
2010	6,800 million	739	2,219	78	842	1,588	449	662

TABLE 2: RELIGIOUS CIVILIZATIONS IN PROPORTION TO WORLD POPULATION

Year	World Population	Sinic	Christian	Primal	Indic	Islamic	Buddhist	Antitheist
1	213 million	24.9%	0%	40.8%	11.3%	0%	8.9%	0%
200	223 million	28.3%	1.4%	39.9%	13.0%	0%	10.8%	0%
400	198 million	26.7%	8.1%	36.4%	12.1%	0%	15.7%	0%
600	203 million	22.2%	10.3%	31.5%	15.7%	0%	16.7%	0%
800	222 million	22.5%	11.7%	21.2%	19.4%	5.0%	17.6%	0%
1000	276 million	23.9%	12.8%	15.9%	18.8%	8.3%	15.6%	0%
1100	311 million	31.5%	12.9%	13.5%	21.2%	10.3%	14.5%	0%
1200	380 million	30.3%	13.9%	10.5%	19.2%	11.6%	12.1%	0%
1300	396 million	21.7%	19.2%	9.3%	19.4%	13.1%	11.1%	0%
1400	362 million	22.4%	16.6%	9.4%	22.6%	15.5%	11.0%	0%
1500	443 million	24.4%	18.3%	9.0%	21.0%	16.0%	9.5%	0%
1600	562 million	26.0%	18.9%	7.3%	18.5%	17.4%	8.5%	0%
1700	645 million	24.8%	20.3%	7.1%	15.5%	17.7%	8.8%	0.6%
1800	927 million	31.5%	23.6%	5.8%	13.6%	17.5%	7.9%	1.9%
1850	1,221 million	33.2%	27.2%	5.3%	12.9%	17.6%	7.7%	2.6%
1900	1,645 million	26.4%	33.6%	4.3%	11.7%	17.9%	7.1%	3.0%
1950	2,514 million	16.1%	35.3%	2.5%	16.3%	19.0%	6.6%	4.0%
1975	4,068 million	9.6%	32.8%	1.5%	15.7%	20.9%	5.6%	13.6%
2000	6,000 million	11.0%	32.9%	1.2%	13.6%	21.5%	6.5%	10.0%
2010	6,800 million	10.9%	32.6%	1.1%	12.4%	23.3%	6.6%	9.7%

Discussion: The demographic balance between the world civilizations has seen several tectonic shifts in the last 2,000 years. In the period 0-800, ethno-tribal belief systems, here known as Primal-Indigenous religions, were

the chief socio-religion dispensation among humankind. As the Christianization of Europe merged with the Islamization of the Middle East and North Africa, the Primal-Indigenous dominance was weakened. This gave way to the Sinic civilization, which became the numerically largest, followed until the turn of the millennium closely by the Indic civilization. The Sinic civilization remained the dominant until medical advances in Europe resulted in decreased child mortality, courtesy of the Industrial Revolution, and by 1870 Christiandom were the largest civilization, a privilege it retains till this day.

However, while all civilizations are increasing in absolute terms, as a result of population growth, only Islam is growing in relative terms. Future projections anticipate that Islam will attain parity with Christianity by 2050, as Islam is the only civilization whose growth rate is in excess of the generic growth rate of the world population at large. Islam has not before reached parity with Christianity, with the exception of narrowing the gap considerably around the time of the Black Death in Europe (a gap which since widened, even with the 30-Year War in Europe).

The most dramatic decline over the two thousand years is found in the Primal-Indigenous group, where evangelization and death at the hand of colonialists entirely eradicated parochial forms of religiosity. Buddhism, too, has seen considerable demographic decline; from having been more numerous than Hindus, Buddhists suffered from loss of dynastic support in India and the spread of

Islam in central Asia. Likewise, the Communist take-over of China, sounded the death-knell of Sinic civilization which quickly deteriorated. Like the Sinic civilization, the Buddhist too suffered from the institutional imposition of Antitheism, a blow which either is still to recover from, even as Antitheism has recently seen a decline with the fall of the Soviet block.

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